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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-10 EA-09 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 SAJ-01 ACDA-10 EB-07

TRSE-00 OMB-01 DHA-02 CU-04 /144 W

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R 290141Z SEP 76 FM USMISSION USUN NY TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9474 INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4008

E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR, UNGA

SUBJECT: 31ST GA: SOVIET FONMIN GROMYKO'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL

ASSEMBLY

1. SUMMARY. CENTERPIECE OF GROMYKO'S HOUR-LONG ADDRESS SEPTEMBER 28 WAS INTRODUCTION OF AGENDA ITEM ON WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE (SEPTEL). DEVOTING OVER HALF THE SPEECH TO DISARMAMENT MATTERS, GROMYKO REVERSED SOVIET POSITION ON INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE (IOPZ) BY ANNOUNCING READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN PREPARATIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROVIDED IT ALLOWS FOR FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND RESEARCH. GROMYKO INDIRECTLY ATTACKED CURRENT AMERICAN EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, CHARACTERIZING THEM AS "ATTEMPTS TO DIVERT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AWAY FROM GENUINE INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM THROUGH POLITICAL GIMMICKRY AND FINANCIAL HAND-OUTS". ON THE MIDDLE EAST, HE DESCRIBED EVENTS IN LEBANON AS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF THE LACK OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT AND CALLED FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE "LEBANESE THEMSELVES". ON THE ARAB-ISAELI DISPUTE, HE URGED RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE. GROMYKO HIGHLIGHTED THE IMPORTANCE OF US/SOVIET COOPERATION AND SALT II NEGOTIATIONS, AS WELL AS OF NORMALIZATION OF SOVIET/PRC UNCLASSIFIED

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RELATIONS. FINALLY, ON UN MATTERS, HE CALLED FOR

MEMBERS TO ABIDE BY THE UN CHARTER AND INSISTED ON THE ADMISSION OF VIETNAM AND ANGOLA. END SUMMARY.

- 2. DISARMAMENT: GROMYKO EMPHASIZED THAT MAJOR INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM IS PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR AND CURBING OF THE ARMS RACE. AFTER NOTING THAT ARMS SPENDING PRESENTLY AMONTS TO \$300 BILLION ANNUALLY, HE OUTLINED SOVIET PROPOSALS AND VIEWS AS FOLLOWS:
- A) WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (MDW): SOVIETS
 FAVOR AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT PROHIBITING THE
 DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES AND SYSTEMS OF BOTH CONVENTIONAL
 AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN THE FIRST STAGE, THERE COULD
 BE A LIMITATION, AND SUBSEQUENTLY A COMPLETE BAN ON
 NEW WEAPONS
- B) NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT: THE NUCLEAR POWERS AND OTHER STATES SHOULD NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT ON COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.
- C) COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (CTB): NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS SHOULD BE STOPPED EVERYWHERE AND BY ALL STATES. THE PROBLEM IS THE UNWILLINGNESS OF "SOME NUCLEAR POWERS" TO BEGIN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS (PNE) TREATY:

D) PNE TREATY: THERE WILL BE NO DELAY IN SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION AND THE SOVIETS HOPE THAT US RATIFICATION WILL TAKE PLACE SOON. A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE APPROACH TO VERIFICATION PROBLEMS CAN BE FOUND.

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT):

E) NPT: THE NPT REGIME MUST BE STRENGTHENED BY REDOUBLING EFFORTS TO MAKE IT UNIVERSAL THROUGH THE ACCESSION OF ALL STATES WITHOUT EXCEPTION. IT IS A MATTER OF POLITICS AND SECURITY, NOT COMMERCE, TO ASSURE THAT FISSIONABLE MATERIALS ARE NOT USED FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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DANGEROUS PURPOSES OR THAT MEANS FOR DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS DO NOT FALL INTO HANDS OF IRRESPONSIBLE PEOPLE, ADVENTURISTS, OR MADMEN.

F) CHEMICAL WEAPONS: ALL CHEMICAL WEAPONS SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PROHIBITED AND DESTROYED. AS A BEGINNING, AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED TO BAN AND ELIMINATE THE MOST DANGEROUS, LETHAL TYPES OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

- G) DISMANTLING OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES: THE SOVIET UNION FAVORS THE DISMANTLING OF THESE BASES ON ALIEN TERRITORIES.
- H) INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE (IOPZ): THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER HAD ANY INTENTION OF BUILDING MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND REGARDS IT AS REASONABLE THAT A NUMBER OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STATES WANT TO TURN IT INTO A PEACE ZONE. THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN CONSULTATIONS RE PREPARATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, PROVIDED DUE ACCOUNT IS TAKEN OF ITS CONCERNS REGARDING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND RESEARCH.
- I) REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS: GIVEN THE FAILURE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THE SOVIETS' 1973 PROPOSAL DUE TO THE POSITION OF "SOME STATES", THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO LOOK FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SPECIFIC FIGURES FROM WHICH REDUCTION SHOULD BE STARTED, AND AS A FIRST STEP A FIGURE EITHER GREATER OR SMALLER THAN 10 PERCENT COULD BE AGREED UPON FOR 1977.
- J) WDC: THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE CONVENING OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC). IT WOULD AGREE, HOWEVER, TO A SPECIAL UNGA SESSION PROVIDED THIS IS VIEWED AS AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE IN PREPARATIONS FOR A WDC.
- K) IN FURTHER EXPLANATION OF ITS VIEW ON THESE DISARMAMENT MATTERS, THE SOVIETS SUBMITTED A MEMORANDUM TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AS AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT (SEPTEL).

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3. SOUTHERN AFRICA: GROMYKO INDIRECTLY ATTACKED CURRENT AMERICAN EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, CHARACTERIZING THEM AS "ATTEMPTS TO DIVERT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AWAY FROM GENUINE INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM THROUGH POLITICAL GIMMICKRY AND FINANCIAL HANDOUTS". THE SOVIETS STRONGLY SUPPORT THE NATIONAL IBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, RHODESIA, AND NAMIBIA, AND AN UNCONDITIONED END TO APARTHEID.

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- 4. US-USSR RELATIONS: GROMYKO STATED THAT THE NECESSARY PREREQUISITES HAVE BEEN CREATED FOR CONTINUING TO BUILD US-SOVIET RELATIONS ON A CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS. THE SOVIET UNION EXPECTS THE US TO CONFORM TO ITS PAST COMMITMENTS AND NOT BE "GUIDED IN ITS POLICY BY MOMENTARY CONSIDERATIONS".
- 5. EAST-WEST RELATIONS: GROMYKO NOTED THAT EUROPEAN NATIONS WERE GENERALLY ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE. HE WARNED, HOWEVER, AGAINST ANY ATTEMPTS TO UNDERCUT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON EEST BERLIN.
- 6. THE MIDDLE EAST: GROMYKO DESCRIBED THE "TRAGIC EVENTS" IN LEBANON AS A DIRECT RESULT OF IMPERIALIST AGRESSION AGAINST THE ARABS AND THE LACK OF AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. THE CRISIS IN LEBANON MUST BE SETTLED IN A PEACEFUL DEOMOCRATIC WAY BY THE LEBANESE THEMSELVES, WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, ON THE BASIS OF PRESERVING THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF LEBANON. AN OVERALL MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT, HE SAID, SHOULD BE WORKED OUT AT THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF: A) ISRAELI UNCLASSIFIED

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WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES; B) FULFILLMENT

OF THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL DEMANDS OF THE PALESTINIANS, INCLUDING A PALESTINIAN STATE AND C) INTERNATIONAL SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR ALL STATES INCLUDING ISRAEL.

- 7. KOREA: GROMYKO SUPPORTED THE DPRK POSITION AND CALLED FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRO-DPRK RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE 30TH UNGA.
- 8. SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS: THE USSR CONTINUES TO ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ITS RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. GROMYKO EXPLAINED THAT THE DECISIONS OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE FULLY VALID TODAY AND CLEARLY INDICATE THE SOVIET POSITION. DISCUSSING THE ASIAN SITUATION, HE INDIRECTLY ATTACKED CHINESE MILITARY BUILD-UP ALONG THE SOVIET FRONTIER.
- 9. UN CHARTER: GROMYKO ASKED UN MEMBERS TO OBSERVE THE UN CHARTER.
- $10.\,$ VIETNAM AND ANGOLA: HE INSISTED ON VIETNAMESE AND ANGOLAN ADMISSION. SCRANTON

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